1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[1] CHAPTER 1

THE FRONTIER REGION

133 Liang Shan is a common frontier of Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan provinces. The Ta-liang Shan range, which branches out from the Minya Konka mountain range in Sikang, can be divided into four main branches. The first branch, located in the extreme north, occupies an area between O-pien and Ma-pien counties in Szechwan. In the Lolo region, it is called the Wan-shih P'ing mountain range, which also forms the watershed between the Ta-tu Ho and Ma-pien Ho. The second branch is the main Ta-liang Shan mountain range. Its northern part stretches southward from Huang-mao Kang across Huang-ts'ao P'ing, Yen-feng Shan, and Ta-feng Ting to the southern Huang-mao Kang and ends at Lung-t'ou Shan on the bank of the Chin-sha Chiang. It is the watershed between the Mei-ku Ho and Hsi-su Ho. The third branch covers the Wu-p'ao Lolo area and includes the Wu-p'ao Shan of the Chu-hêh area. It is also the watershed between the Mei-ku Ho and Hsi-ch'i Ho. The fourth branch, the Pa-ch'i mountain range, is located between Chao-chüeh and Ning-nan in Sikang and forms the watershed between the Hsi-ch'i Ho and the Hui-tung Ho. Huang-mao Kang is traditionally considered the dividing line between the Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan. The region from Huang-mao Kang westward to the east side of Hui-tung Ho, in which lies Ta-liang Shan, belongs to Chao-chüeh county. To the east of Huang-mao Kang is Hsiao-liang Shan. This area belongs to Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien counties and is commonly called the Lei-Ma-P'ing-O frontier region. It is located in the fifth administrative area of southwestern Szechwan (see Maps 1 and 2).

131 177 Liang Shan has been occupied by the Lolo since ancient times. The Han-Chinese seldom travel in these areas. The headquarters of the Lolo are located in Ta-liang Shan, where they have never come under Han-Chinese influence. Hsiao-liang Shan, on the other hand, is a trading post between the Lolo and the Han-Chinese, who both inhabit the area heterogeneously. In the course of time, the controlling influence there has changed hands from one side to another. Whenever Han-Chinese influence was predominant, the major part of the

131 Lolo retreated westward across Huang-mao Kang to Ta-liang
177 Shan. When Han-Chinese influence declined, the Lolo usually seized the opportunity to rebel. They came out of the mountains to disturb the different areas of the Hsiao-liang Shan so that in the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area there [2] was no peace.

101 Actually the Lolo regions are not limited to the Ta-liang
131 and Hsiao-liang Shan. In Sikang there are, besides Chao-chüeh, eight counties of the Ning-nan district and the Chiu-lung county of the K'ang-ting district, in which is also distributed a number of Lolo families. According to reports by various experts there is a Lolo population of about 600,000 in the ten counties of Sikang. East of the county seats of Yüeh-sui and Chao-chüeh [3] in the Ta-liang Shan area live comparatively pure Lolo clans, which have their own social system and have never been assimilated by Han-Chinese culture.

[162]

The region from the Chin-sha Chiang southward within Yunnan is also inhabited by the Lolo. Of the population in Yunnan, nine out of ten who live in the plains are Han-Chinese, while those who live scattered in the high hills and mountain valleys are the un-Sinicized groups. In the area south of K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pai-i, who are closely connected with the Thai-Shan people, are the main ethnic group. From here northward the un-Sinicized tribes are mainly Lolo or those who have close blood relationship with the Lolo, like the Moso and the Lisu. The Lolo have also moved from K'un-ming and Ta-li southward and eventually extended outside of Yunnan to the Indochina and Burma borders, where their traces are still visible. During 1942 the author stayed in Yunnan for eight or nine months and carefully observed the un-Sinicized people in that province. By checking the reports from different experts, he estimated that the Lolo and related tribes in Yunnan amounted to at least one million.

[162]

181 However, the Lolo tribes who inhabit Yunnan are some-
177 what different from those who inhabit Szechwan and Sikang. Because the Lolo in Yunnan intermarry with neighboring nationalities, their physical appearance has changed slightly; culturally, no matter whether it is in material life or in customs and traditions, they are considerably influenced by the Han-Chinese. There are many Lolo who have become so Sinicized that they identify themselves with Han-Chinese and do not want to be called Lolo.

[142]

000 After this general picture of the distribution of the Lolo in Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan, we can go further to

fortress at one corner for defense against bandits. The residents are not entirely Han-Chinese. Some Sinicized Lolo, former subjects of Yang T'u-szu, also live in the area. The people in the suburbs have no protection whatsoever. The Lolo bandits usually come at night to rob, kill, and take captives. People at Nan-t'ien Pa in the southeastern outskirts have suffered most. During the author's stay at Lei-po every midnight continuous shooting was heard outside the city walls which signaled the approach of Lolo bandits. The Lolo strategy is usually to organize a band of a dozen or more persons, who first hide outside the house; then they fight their way inside, killing one or two persons; afterwards, they capture all the male and female members of the family. They gag the mouths of the captives with grass, wood, or mud to prevent them from shouting. After plundering, the Lolo bandits descend the slope at Nan-t'ien Pa and flee northwestward along the Chin-sha Chiang bank.

The mountain tops surrounding Lei-po are either wild areas or Lolo territory. At Chia-chia Shih, 5 li north of Lei-po, is stationed a company of government soldiers. Further up to Chin-p'ing Shan, which is 3,000 meters above sea level, there are wild grasses and old forests with scarcely any trace of human habitation. Ma-liu Wan, a mountain valley 15 li northeast of the city, is on the main northern route to Hsi-ning on the P'ing-shan border. This area is occupied by the Li-ch'ü branch of the Lolo tribe and is not open to the Han-Chinese. During the author's inspection trip to Ma-liu Wan, the team was led by a headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. As we left the eastern gate to climb up the mountain, we saw midway to the peak three rifle-carrying Lolo guarding the pass in front of the Shan-wang Miao. Had it not been for our headman-protector, who talked to them, we would not have been able to press one step forward. Shan-wang Miao is located at the top of the mountain. Behind the temple there is a mud wall with a wooden gate. Leaving the pass and going down the valley one reaches Ma-liu Wan. Three years ago Chinese troops were stationed in the temple for defense against the Lolo outside the pass, but now it has become a key frontier pass for the Lolo tribes.

Fifteen li outside Lei-po city to the west is Wu-chio, a plain between two mountain valleys, easily discerned from Lei-po. This [10] place was originally inhabited heterogeneously by Han-Chinese and Lolo, although most of the Lolo there had been Sinicized. Three years ago a column of

government soldiers was stationed there and a provincial grade school was established. At present not only have the government troops been withdrawn, but the school has also been closed. The few Han-Chinese families in the village are now under the protection of the Lolo. Wu-chio is an important pass of the Ta-liang Shan, the main thoroughfare to and from the Han-Chinese and Lolo regions. Those Lolo who come to Lei-po to trade with the Han-Chinese would use Wu-chio as their main base.

There are three roads from Lei-po to Huang-mao Kang, all of which start from Wu-chio westward to La-li Kou and then they branch out in three directions. The northern route goes from Chin-p'ing Shan north of Lei-po across Shan-leng Kang and T'ien-chia Wan to Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui, whence it climbs up Huang-mao Kang to reach T'e-hsi in the Ta-liang Shan. The southern road starts from La-li Kou through Mu-kou P'o and Yang-tzu Ch'iao to La-mi, and then crosses Huang-mao Kang from La-mi to reach Sheng-chi. Both the northern and southern routes have been traveled by earlier inspection teams. This time the author purposely took the new center route. It starts from La-li Kou, climbs over Ma-ching-tzu, passes through Ting-chia P'ing, Cho-chiao-na-ta, and Ma-ch'ia-ha-lo, and then penetrates into a deep forest before it crosses Huang-mao Kang from Mao-hsi-chü-lieh. On this road there are about 100 li of wild mountains with no villages or inhabitants. After crossing Huang-mao Kang, the road goes directly to Hsiao-lo in Ta-liang Shan.

Wu-chio has one main street. Most of the inhabitants are white Lolo, who are the wa-tzu [slaves] of the black Lolo of the Hu family. After they have been Sinicized, they are called pai-hsing [subjects]. Except on the street, the houses are widely dispersed; the distance from one house to another is at least about 20 or 30 feet. The whole valley is planted with rice, and the village is quite a wealthy one. Between the mountain peaks to the northwest is a small hamlet, called Shao-shang, which is the household of the chief wife, née Li-ch'ü, of the Hu family head. From here westward villages like Pao-ch'i and P'a-ha are also under the influence of the Hu family. Even Mo-shih and San-chi-wo are also inhabited by households belonging to the Hu family.

About 45 li from Lei-po westward is Ma-chia wan, a small village with only a few thatched houses scattered in the mountain valley. Its inhabitants are the slaves of the A-cho branch, who were also the subjects of the late Yang T'u-szu.

487 agricultural cultivation. Beside it flows a streamlet which
361 can be used for irrigation. When Chinese influence was still strong in this area, there was some kind of agricultural activity, but today it is only a wild deserted plain without any cultivation. From here eastward about 10 li is Hsiao-ku Tui; at another 20 li is Chu-hao-wo; 30 li further is Yen-ch'ih Pa. From Yen-ch'ih Pa eastward about 10 li is T'ien-chia Wan, a comparatively large village in this area. All the villages east
● [177] of Huang-mao Kang were formerly the territories of the Sinicized Lolo, who have Han-Chinese surnames and who were the subjects of the late Yang T'u-szu.

648 About 40 li eastward from T'ien-chia Wan is Shan-leng Kang. Originally a Chinese city, it was destroyed in 1919 during the Lolo rebellion. Today all that is left is a leng [angular]-shaped city wall overgrown with wild grass. Inside the city, a piece of red mud wall can still be vaguely discerned. On the slope below the city is Lu-chia Chai, where the houses are dispersed in the valley.

487 From Shan-leng Kang the road leads southward to Ma-ching-tzu and La-li Kou, and northward to Lan-pa-tzu. The northern route is quite level, and with Lolo headmen-protectors as guards, it is possible to get to Chung-shan P'ing by way of Lan-pa-tzu and K'u-chien-fan. The route from Chung-shan P'ing northward to Lo-san Ch'i and Hsi-ning is under the influence of Chung-kuo K'ang-chien K'ên-chih Shê and can be traveled without any trouble. If we develop Hsi-ning, then we can have at least one broad thoroughfare from Lan-pa-tzu and Shan-leng Kang westward to Ta-liang Shan.

Shan-leng Kang is about 90 li east of Lei-po. Before 1919 there was a main road between them, which was also a part of the thoroughfare between Lei-po and Chien-ch'ang, but since the Lolo riots in the last twenty years no one has traveled on this road, now deserted, overgrown with weeds, and hardly recognizable. In the villages of Tso-erh-wo, Kuei-ma P'ing, and Ta-huo Ti, there are still a few scattered households. Eastward up the slope from Ta-huo Ti is a wild old forest which is very difficult to traverse. From the former site of Wei-kan-tien on the top of the mountain there is still [15] a huge millstone from the early days. The elevation on the mountain top is about the same as that of Huang-mao Kang, but the weather here is much colder. When the author crossed the mountains, there was a big storm and wild wind, and the old carrier we hired was almost frozen to death. Going down the slope from Chin-p'ing Shan, as we looked southward

614 631 Next to the En-cha are the A-cho and A-lo branches. These are the most important branches between Lei-po and Chao-chüeh. The ancestors of the A-cho branch once submitted to Chinese rule in the fourth year of the Ming emperor Hung-wu (1371) and were given the official position of t'u-szu [native chief] and the Chinese name Yang as their family name. They were known to the people in the frontier regions as Yang T'u-szu. During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, in order to control the Lolo people in these regions, the t'u-szu system, which was hereditary, was established by the government. In the 43rd year of the Ch'ing emperor K'ang-hsi (1704), the t'u-szu [17] office was set up at Ch'ien-wan-kuan with all the present Kan P'u-t'ien, A-cho, and A-lo branches, as well as the nine Sinicized Lolo branches in the Lei-po area under its jurisdiction. Whenever rebellions broke out among the Lolo, the government would ask the t'u-szu to pacify them. So the t'u-szu performed an important function for the government. Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, the t'u-szu moved his headquarters to Wang-shen P'o below Ta-ch'i Shan outside the north gate of Lei-po. In the early years of the Republic (1910's) the headquarters was moved back inside the city. In 1927, the incumbent Yang T'u-szu died without any male heir and was survived only by a daughter, Tai-t'i. She is now twenty-two. All the Lolo still respect her a great deal, but the former family prestige and influence are gone. The A-lo branch is 613 divided into four auxiliary branches called Wu-ch'i, Pu-chi, Li-ch'ü, and Mo-shih. They extend from Lei-po westward to the center of the Ta-liang Shan and Mei-ku Ho area and further westward to Chu-heh. In all these regions the influence of the A-lo branch still prevails.

[614] 613 177 A-su, a small branch between Lei-po and Chao-chüeh, has an independent clan system. Besides those mentioned above, there are nine Sinicized Lolo families in the Lei-po area. These are former members of the Kan P'u-t'ien, A-cho, and A-lo branches who have surrendered to the Chinese government and have been given Chinese family names. The Chinese in this area call them the nine inner branches to distinguish them from the un-Sinicized Lolo of the A-cho and A-lo branches and the five lower Kan P'u-t'ien branches. The nine inner branches include the following families: Ting, Lu, Chu, Hu, Han, Hsu, Ma, Su, and An. These nine families are distributed in an area between Lei-po and Huang-mao Kang, also northward to Ta-ku Tui, Hsiao-ku Tui, and Lan-pa-tzu, and southward across the Chin-sha Chiang to Yunnan province.

614 power is, the more ying [strong, lit., hard or tough] he be-
622 comes. So anyone who is powerful enough to be pao-t'ou is
555 ying tu-tu. Chih-t'ieh died a few years ago. Following his death, his power and influence came to an end. The position of leadership is achieved by a Lolo through his own individual accomplishments. It remains with him during his lifetime, but is not hereditary.

After Chih-t'ieh's death, his successor was not his own son, but his cousin, named Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, who was descended from the same paternal great-grandfather. Ta-chi, now thirty-five years old, is a capable and competent black Lolo. When the
159 author made this investigation trip to Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-
555 liang Shan, Ta-chi was employed as pao-t'ou for the team. Ta-chi's father, Ch'uan-erh, was a pao-t'ou around the Ma-ching-tzu area. In the rebellion of 1919, he was one of the chief instigators. After the riot he returned to his native village of San-ho-i-ta and died there of sickness afterwards. During that time Ta-chi, who was only eleven years old, was left a poor lonely orphan with no one to support him. After more than ten years of hard struggle, he finally managed to get ahead, later married, and had children. Gradually he has accumulated some savings and is now considered a wealthy man in San-ho-i-ta. Ta-chi has two younger sisters. The elder one was married to Hu Hsing-min who lived in Wu-chio west of Lei-po. Five or six years ago, Hu Hsing-min died and was survived by his wife and two young daughters. In order to help his sister manage her household
[593] affairs, Ta-chi often traveled back and forth between Lei-po and Ta-liang Shan. Having had more contact with the Han-
[177] Chinese and learned more about things in the outside world than the others, he is one of the comparatively enlightened black Lolo in Liang Shan. Because of his popularity, Ta-chi soon became the leader of the Li-ch'ü branch of San-ho-i-ta to succeed Chih-t'ieh. This time when Ta-chi led the author and his inspection team to the mountain region, it was his first assignment as headman-protector of the Han-Chinese traveling in Liang Shan. For this trip he was branded a Han-Chinese by
[609] two of his clan uncles in the village. Lolo [20] hostility towards outsiders can readily be seen from this instance.

622 Ma-liu Wan in Hsiao-liang Shan is also a Li-ch'ü vil-
614 lage. Its chief, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u, was formerly a well-known rebellious Lolo, but in his old age he changed his attitude by submitting to government rule and living quietly as the head-
682 man in Ma-liu Wan. Pieh-t'u had a son who was intelligent
614 and smart. Once he was playing with pistols with Ta-i, Pieh-
555 t'u's clan nephew, in front of Shan-wang Miao and was

574 the pass immediately relayed the news outside the pass. Within a short time Ta-i came to greet us with a group of more than ten white Lolo slaves in an impressive procession. He brought [431] with him two roosters as a present for a feast and told the interpreter to give us his humble regards. I was surprised that the same Ta-i who had been described to me by the Han-Chinese of Lei-po as fierce and cruel should turn out to be so subdued and polite in our presence. It is obvious that people act differently under different circumstances. No matter whether one is a Lolo or a Han-Chinese, he acts kindly or unkindly depending upon whether he considers the other [21] a friend or enemy.

614 622 554 564 Leadership in the clan village is secured through personal ability, but it also depends upon the amount of support one gets from members of the clan. Generally there are only very few black Lolo in the village, the white Lolo being the majority. The relationship between the two groups will be discussed in Chapter 7, "Class." It suffices to state here that the black Lolo constitute the ruling class and the white Lolo the subject class, and that the class distinction which comes from birth should not be confused or neglected. In Lolo society, [567] a black Lolo considers as slaves not only the white Lolo in his clan, but also those outside the clan. Similarly, a white Lolo, besides serving his own black Lolo master, has to serve any other black Lolo. On the other hand, as white Lolo families far outnumber black Lolo families, even though they recognize all black Lolo as masters, they have considerable influence in the determination of black Lolo leadership. Because of their number, their opinion becomes public opinion.

159 614 622 [597] In the region beyond Wu-chio about some 15 li west of Lei-po is located the village of the Sinicized Hu clan. When Hu Hsing-min was young, his granduncle [father's father's younger brother; see footnote, p. 25] had no children, and so his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family adopted her elder sister's son, A-cho T'ieh-mu, and brought him up in the family. After the death of the granduncle, the grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family intended to make T'ieh-mu an heir to take charge of the Hu village and to manage family properties. T'ieh-mu was quite smart and capable, but the white Lolo refused to obey him; following the Lolo custom, they all rose to support Hsing-min as their leader and succeeded in driving T'ieh-mu out of 159 622 557 177 the village. When Kuo Shun-chih of the Lei-po county was in charge of the government military training camp, Hu Hsing-min enlisted and became thoroughly Sinicized. He was friendly toward the Han-Chinese and contributed a great deal in the

attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-mao Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, because of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines [i. e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of continuing his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and influence grew day by day. The strong family background of his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-Chinese living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo, so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social organization. It is an important communication center between the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Ta-liang Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the tension between the two groups without an intelligent and capable leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih) had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom, the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother, his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's family was weak and had no male member, but his elder maternal cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

just like a woman chieftain, is due to the strength of her parents' family. Since her elder brother, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, has been traveling frequently to Wu-chio to help manage her affairs, no one dares to challenge her power in the village. This, of course, is not a permanent solution, and Li-ch'ü shih [23] herself is well aware of it. She has confided to the author that it was unfortunate that she did not produce a male heir. She is not yet thirty-one and according to Lolo custom could very well remarry, but she repeatedly announced that she would remain a widow all her life in observance of Chinese tradition. As Wu-chio is an area in which Chinese and Lolo cultures intermingle, the development of this community depends entirely upon the relationship between the two groups.

The cohesive force in the clan village becomes strong if there is a recognized leader supported by all the people. Whenever something occurs, once the leader has issued a summons, all the male adults of the village immediately assemble to take orders from him, either to undertake an expedition to fight in a clan feud or to station themselves in front of the village to protect the clan members from enemy invasion. Since the Lolo at Ma-liu Wan had made enemies of the soldiers stationed at Lei-po, anytime they heard of a movement of the soldiers, Ta-i would gather together several dozen men to lay in ambush at the slope in front of Shan-wang Miao so as to deal the government soldiers a severe blow when they passed Chin-chu Tsui at the foot of the slope. Armed clashes between government troops and Lolo people have occurred frequently. After the incident of Hu Ch'ang-pao's death, Wu-ch'i Ku-pao made several surprise attacks on the village of Wu-chio, killing, plundering, and seizing animals. As head of the village, Li-ch'ü shih, although a woman, would personally direct her steward, Ts'ai Pao-chang, to assemble the village people to resist the enemy. At that time, Chinese soldiers were still stationed in Wu-chio, and since Li-ch'ü shih was the chief of the village ward, appointed by the government, the soldiers also undertook to help her in the defense. Therefore the main factor maintaining the clan village as a unit is the union of the clan members, whose combined strength would enable them to protect the villagers' life and property and also to gain lasting independence for the village.

A clan leader should always demonstrate a courageous spirit and place himself at the front of a combat, thereby winning the respect and obedience of the people. This is not only true of the leader, but also of all the black Lolo in the clan. They, too, should be brave enough to lead the white Lolo slaves

423 Lolo groups usually have many enemies, particularly those in
62] neighboring villages. Clan enemies are prohibited from enter-
[619] ing the village. Whenever they cross the border and are discovered, they are usually killed or captured. Therefore, although the boundary of each village is not distinctly drawn, there is always a neutral fringe area where the people of both villages, if they happen to be enemies, dare not trespass. This kind of boundary has a tribal political significance, quite different from the family-owned land.

The black Lolo master employs household slaves to
567 cultivate the land. In case the number of slaves has increased considerably and the house is too small for them, the master sends those who have served him faithfully for a long time to build houses of their own in separate units. The master may
[425 give each family a certain amount of land or the family may
427] rent some arable land to supply its needs. Gradually, after a long period of time, the slave would be freed economically from his master's control; he would have his own land to
[571] cultivate and his own household to manage. [63] Hence there
[62] are today in the Lolo villages many independent white Lolo households which, except that they have to accept the rule and protection of the black Lolo and to assume certain responsibilities and duties, have a self-supporting economic life. These white Lolo are called "subjects" (pai-hsing) by those who have been Sinicized. Actually the "subjects" are still slaves, although they have a higher social position than the household slaves.

241 The Lolo have no unit for measuring land which is al-
[804] ways referred to in terms of pieces or sections without any reference to the exact acreage. Therefore it is very difficult to estimate the area of their cultivated land. It is possible, however, to get a general idea of the acreage through the cultivation or production figures for each piece of land. Take, for instance, corn, the most important agricultural product in the Lolo area. On the average, a person is able to cultivate each year from 6 sheng [a sheng is equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] to 2 tou [a tou is 10 sheng] of corn seed. Both sheng
● [177] and tou are measurements adopted from the Han-Chinese. If the 6-sheng cultivation unit is taken as the basis of calculation, then the harvest will be around 40 market tou. In the districts around southern Szechwan, the average yield for one mu [about one-sixth of an acre] of land is about 15 market tou. So 40 tou is equivalent to the yield of two and a half mu, which is therefore the minimum cultivated acreage per person in the Lolo area.

groom's families is a kind of economic trade. Ordinarily relatives and friends also exchange gifts during each other's visits. This custom helps to adjust the distribution of products and handicrafts in the society. During the inspection team's stay at Liang Shan, except for a few poor white Lolo families who asked for silver in exchange for food, the majority of Lolo families all voluntarily prepared food for us by killing oxen, sheep, chickens, and pigs, or by boiling corn and potatoes, the kind of entertainment given us varying with the economic situation of each family. The inspection team usually estimated the amount of expenses incurred by the host and then gave him in return such gift-articles as cloth, salt, scissors, mirrors, needles, and thread.

The distribution of wealth and goods among the Lolo was originally based on the principle of entertaining strangers and exchanging gifts. Since their contact with the Han-Chinese, however, a trade system has gradually developed. The medium of exchange is silver, measured by the ounce or in ingots. This traditional Han-Chinese system has now penetrated deeply into the Lolo community and is used consistently. Lolo currency is quite influential in the border area. Silver coins are still widely circulated in P'ing-shan and P'ing-i Ch'ang east of the Lolo territory.

The Lolo go to Han-Chinese cities or towns to buy commodities, the main items being salt, wine, cloth, and other articles of daily use. Lei-po, P'ing-pien, and Hsi-ning are all important trading towns for the Han-Chinese and the Lolo, who continuously [68] visit this area. The twelve En-cha branches use Ma-pien and Hsi-ning as their trading centers, while the A-lo, A-cho, and the nine Sinicized Lolo families trade mostly in Lei-po.

The Lolo territory being beyond the control of the county government in border areas, the Lolo have been engaged in opium planting in recent years. The opium is exported and sold in the Han-Chinese territory with enormous profits. Therefore the Lolo's economic conditions are above those of the average Han-Chinese. The Lolo use the revenue from opium to trade for guns and silver in the Han-Chinese territory. In the early years of the Republic, when Yang Ch'un-fang's troops were stationed at Lei-po, they sold guns to the Lolo for a huge profit. Since then arms have flowed continuously into Liang Shan with the result that today nearly every Lolo household has a gun. As the circulation of silver money is prohibited by the government in the Han-Chinese territory, the ruffians there are engaged in the lucrative

561 [435] physical strength. A young and able-bodied person, whether male or female, can fetch quite high a price. For children and old feeble persons, the price is cheaper. Han-Chinese slaves first taken to the Lolo territory are sold over and over again, changing hands several times, before the Lolo master dares keep them for good. Often Han-Chinese slaves from the Lei-po area were sold at Sikang while Han-Chinese slaves from Chao-chüeh were sent to the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area to prevent them from escaping.

There are many Han-Chinese slaves in the Liang Shan region. No matter whether it is a black or white Lolo household, it has at least one or two slaves. After entering the mountain, it is very difficult for Han-Chinese slaves to flee the tiger's mouth as the place is surrounded on all sides by Lolo families, and even if they could escape from one village or clan [79] to another, they would instantly be discovered because of their language and other alien traits and recaptured as slaves for a new household in another village. Therefore, of all the hundred [sic] captured Han-Chinese slaves, not one has escaped. In visiting the Liang Shan area, the author met no less than a hundred Han-Chinese slaves who wore tattered clothes and who toiled everywhere. Sometimes the newly captured slaves could hardly endure the torture. When they saw the inspection team, they wept silently, their faces covered with tears. Some would send a secret message to arrange for ways and means to escape from the tiger's mouth.

In their treatment of Han-Chinese slaves, the Lolo are 567 doubly harsh to the newcomers, who have to work the whole day 177 long without sufficient food and clothing. They suffer a fate worse than that of horses and cattle. Male Han-Chinese slaves are required to keep the t'ien p'u-sa and the female a braid; the male slaves all wear tattered Lolo clothes and from their appearance, they look very much acculturated to Lolo life, but unless they have been in Lolo territory for a long time, they find it difficult to learn the language. After a long period, probably several years in duration, when the master finds a male Han-Chinese slave truly tamed and obedient, he would then purchase for him a female slave, also a Han-Chinese, for [552] a wife. Male and female slaves of Han-Chinese stock have to marry each other as there is little intermarriage between Han-Chinese slaves and the white Lolo, who look down upon the Han-Chinese. After marriage the children born into the family automatically become slaves also, their status being predetermined by birth. If they win the master's favor, they may establish, after three or four generations, their own households

567 and family units. In time they forget their Han-Chinese ancestry and gradually attain the position of white Lolo subjects. 177 During the author's travels in the Yen-ch'ih Pa and Tso-erh-wo area, he secretly observed three white Lolo families that were Han-Chinese five or six generations ago. They were so deeply acculturated that they did not wish to make known their Han-Chinese origin for fear they would be looked down upon. The author met an old couple who were gathering fuel back of the mountain at San-ho-i-ta. The old man, a Han-Chinese with the surname Hu, had been in the Lolo territory for more than 40 years. His wife, who was captured at Hai-nao Pa and taken to Liang Shan 20 years ago, was given him by his master. With them were two female slaves from another household, one a second generation Han-Chinese and the other of the third generation. The inspection team gave each of them some thread and needles. Pointing to the third generation female slave, the old man said to the author, "She is already a man-tzu [barbarian]; you don't have to give her these articles." From his remark can be seen the process of acculturation of a Han-Chinese slave.

567 There does not seem to be a well-defined rule for the promotion of Han-Chinese slaves to white Lolo "subjects" because of the long time involved in the transition; furthermore, the situation varies with locality. Actually, the distinction between Han-Chinese slaves and white Lolo is not as strict as that between black and white Lolo. Several situations can be cited to illustrate this point: (1) absolutely no white Lolo can be promoted to the black Lolo status, whereas Han-Chinese slaves may some day become white Lolo; (2) [582] although white Lolo and Han-Chinese slaves usually do not intermarry, this interdiction is not strictly enforced as there are cases of white Lolo men openly competing [80] for the hand of a beautiful Han-Chinese girl; (3) besides his master, a Han-Chinese slave has no obligation to serve other white Lolo and thus has about the same social position as they do, unlike a white Lolo who has to act humbly and assume a subordinate position in front of any black Lolo.

Usually it is difficult for a Han-Chinese slave to leave Lolo territory, but if his relatives in the Han-Chinese area can locate him and discover his master's branch, his family can try to ransom him by negotiating the fee through a middleman. The following example will serve to show the circumstances relating to the redemption of Han-Chinese slaves.

567 At the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919, Wang Wen-ying, 115 secretary to the commander of the P'u-an military camp, was

628 If the clan feud becomes enlarged in scope and two or
614 more clans are united in an effort to resist the common ene-
726 my, then the able-bodied fighters of the different clans would assemble and together perform a ceremony to seal the alliance. They would kill chickens and animals, toast each other with wine mixed with blood, and swear to attack the enemy and help each other to the last man.

628 At the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and the beginning of
726 the Republic period, when guns were not yet brought to Liang
[411] Shan, weapons for Lolo warfare consisted of bows and arrows, poles and sticks, leather shields, long knives, stone pellets, and others. Fighting with these arms had to be done at close quarters, [86] and so it was called hsieh-tou [armed fight]. During the fight, the participants had to wear full regalia to the
[114] field to display their military pomp. Their heads were wrapped in a turban propped up like a "hero's knot." They wore silk
[492] garments ornamented with gold. Even the horses were fitted with golden saddles and silver stirrups. All these were intended to demonstrate their wealth and power to overawe the enemy.

726 This kind of armed fighting, however, exists in name
628 only, since the Lolo are now accustomed to using shotguns for hitting targets beyond 100 paces. Also the fighting between
177 clan enemies no longer requires the display of finery; instead, they have adopted the strategy of swift surprise attack, like a clap of thunder too sudden for one to cover his ears. It merely indicates that the introduction of modern technology has changed their old strategy and created a new pattern of fighting.

562 During the old days of armed fighting, some black Lolo
728 woman would come to the field of battle in gay dresses and,
628 standing between the opposing camps, would urge the two sides to stop fighting and talk peace. This woman was usually related to both clans — for example, her maternal [sic] clan on the one side and her conjugal clan on the other. According to Lolo
[517 tradition the appearance of a woman on the field would have
762] obligated both sides to stop fighting, but if they insisted on continuing the feud, then the woman would strip herself naked by taking off her skirt and then commit suicide because of the shame. When such things happened, more kin branches and clans might become involved, the scope of the feud be enlarged, and eventually the fighting reach a stage beyond anybody's control. The importing of shotguns has changed the manner of fighting while the custom of a woman's standing between the opposing camps has all but disappeared. During his stay in

614 for an indemnity price. As Pieh-t'u had been dead and Ta-i
682 had gradually become prominent, no one in the Li-ch'ü clan
627 dared raise any objection. Therefore, due to human relations and environmental factors, the traditional rule of paying with one's life for killing a clan member has also been waived and gradually changed in form and direction.

Nonetheless, in Lolo society, the killing of a blood
578 kinsman of a near branch sometimes still calls for the pay-
682 ment of life for life. For close relatives, such as brothers, father's younger brothers, and brother's sons, as well as father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons, and others who are involved in mutual feud killing, the killers all have to pay with their lives. To cite a case previously mentioned: Mo-shih Tso-t'i, who had been studying at the military academy in Ch'eng-tu, unfortunately had to return home for business before his graduation. It happened that at the time his elder brother was acting as a headman-protector to take more than a dozen Han-Chinese merchants from northern Yunnan to Liang Shan. The brother discussed with Tso-t'i his plot of kidnapping the Han-Chinese
•[177] merchants as slaves in an act of reverse protection. Tso-t'i, however, who had recently received an education, knew that the Han-Chinese and the Lolo were of the same national family as citizens of the Republic of China, so he resisted his brother's advances. The latter argued violently with Tso-t'i
[762] and insisted on reverse protection with the result that in a fit of temper Tso-t'i killed himself with a gun. The clan members
[673] felt that Tso-t'i's brother should pay for the death with his life, but since Tso-t'i was not actually killed by his brother, the case remained undecided for a long time and is still not settled today.

On conclusion, within the framework of clan kinship,
614 the Lolo are encouraged to unite together and share collective
672 responsibility so that clan members would not fight each other in a feud, and anyone who kills a member of his clan must pay with his own life. However, in external clan re-
614 lationships, the clan feud is an important structure in their
628 social life. As they have a warlike pattern in fighting clan
555 feuds generation after generation, their young men first
182 learn from them the art of fighting and later they themselves organize expeditionary teams to attack clan enemies and to rob and kill on route. Eventually the more people one kills and the more booty he seizes, the more famous he becomes and the higher his social position. Gradually he gets the title of headman-protector and becomes [91] a political leader.

to cremation is the same. Cremation for the Lolo has a twofold meaning: first, fire destroys the devil or the evil spirit, who is thus prevented from entering another person; second, reincarnation is facilitated through cremation when the deceased becomes another human in next life. 764 [775]

In the recent decades the Lolo at Sung-tzu-yüan have gradually learned Chinese ways, and the majority are beginning to use coffins to deposit their dead, to be directly buried in the earth. Only those who die of leprosy, tuberculosis, and vicious tumors, and women who die of childbirth are cremated. This is because of their peculiar belief that the ones who die of leprosy and other contagious diseases may get rid of them through purification by fire. A woman who dies of childbirth is not easy to decompose, and if her body is not destroyed by fire, it may be entered by an evil spirit to come back to harm mankind. 764 177 766 751

(4) Graves. A grave is erected on the ground where the bones and ashes are buried after cremation. In shape a round mound of yellow earth, it looks like an inverted cup with green grass growing on the top. The ancestral graves of the three immediate generations receive sacrifices twice a year, in spring and winter. The Lolo have been so influenced by the Chinese that in the construction of their tombs they adopt Chinese designs. A comparatively rich Li family has built imposing graves for its ancestors, complete with tombstones with Chinese engravings. The following are two samples: 764 177 [765]

4:Lei--8 E-5 (1939)1944 AE4 Lolo AE4

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Ancestral Virtues and Lofty Administration

His Glory Shines on Many Future Generations

Ting (south) Mountain Facing Kuei (north)

By the Imperial Ch'ing Dynasty

Posthumous Honors
to be Bestowed on

Li, tabooed name Teh, Deceased Father

Li Shih (Mrs.), Deceased Mother

This Tomb

Respectfully erected on the third day of the third moon, in the third year of Hsüan Tung, (1910)

By Grandson Li Hao (to be sacrificed by imperial orders)
Great Grandson (Li) Wan-fu

May posterity grow and multiply

like the pine branches

4:Lei--9 E-5 (1939)1944 AE4 Lolo AE4

764
177

To Bless and Guide Your Offspring

Ting (south) Mountain Facing Kuei (north)

By the Imperial Ch'ing Dynasty

Posthumous Honors
to be Bestowed on

Li, tabooed name Hao, Deceased Father

Li Shih (Mrs.), Deceased Mother

This Tomb

Respectfully erected on the third day of the third moon, in the third year of Hsüan Tung, (1910)

By Son (Li) Wan-fu
Grandsons Tsan-kwei, Tsan-cha, Tsan-ku, Tsan-ko, Tsan-lin

From the above it may be seen how the Lolo have imitated the Chinese way of life.

765

(5) Mourning. After the funeral the heirs and offspring of the deceased have the custom of observing a period of mourning, its length depending upon the degree of relationship. The son and the daughter observe thirty-five days of mourning, after which the mourning robes may be discarded. The grandsons and the granddaughters, younger brothers and sisters, and nephews observe seven days. One version

765 has it that sons, daughters and daughters-in-law have to observe one hundred days, and the other relatives seven days. For husband and wife, regardless of who dies first, there is no mourning observation. During the mourning period disputes and unpleasantness with others are to be avoided.

II. Ancestor Worship

769 After a man is buried a spirit tablet is erected before the family altar to receive sacrifices from his sons and grandsons. The ancestors entitled to spirit tablets in the house are limited to the three immediate generations, those beyond this range being represented by bamboo sticks and pine stalks. These latter are equivalent to the Chinese ancestral tablet engraved with words such as: "Spirit tablet for all ancestors of the preceding generations". It is said that the pine stalk, called "a tsa po", is their original ancestor; and that the golden bamboo stick, /34/ called "a tsa pha lo, no p'a a m", is their earliest original ancestor, i.e. the father of "a tsa po".

In case a member of the family dies, a new spirit tablet is added. In the meantime a wizard priest is invited to the house to remove the oldest tablet to a place called "min-chih" where sacrifice to the "a tsa po" spirit is made.

769 177 In Sung-tzu-yüan there are thirty-seven families, of whom the family of Chiang Wen-tsai came from the strongly Chinese influenced Ta-wan village. No spirit seat is placed in his family hall. Instead, there is an inscribed tablet with words on both sides as follows:

(1) On the front: "To be posthumously honored, the spirit of the deceased father

Shun-shou, surnamed Chiang, with the tabooed name Kuo-si, by the filial son Chiang Wen-hsin." 769 177

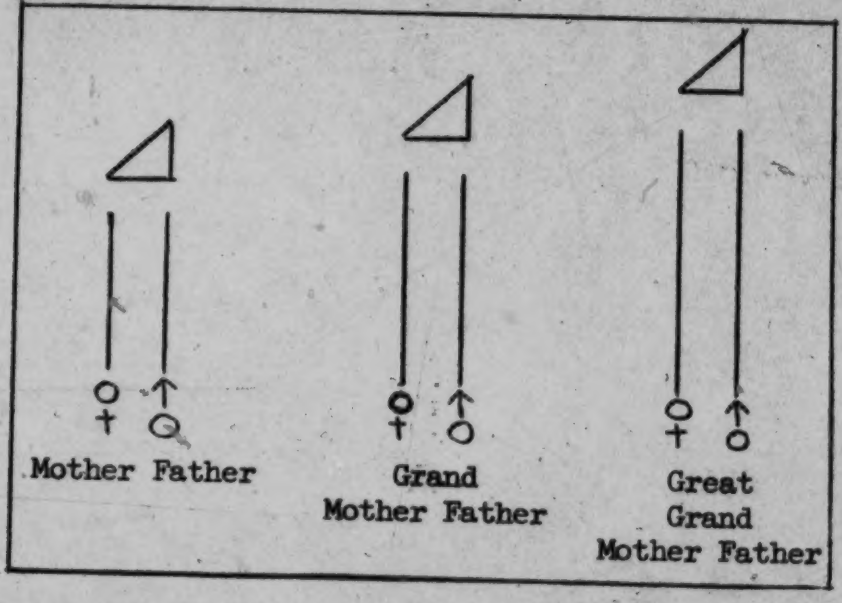
(2) On the front: "To be posthumously honored by the Ch'ing (dynasty), deceased wife Jen-p'ing, né Pi, enjoying the longevity of seventy-three years, by the weeping filial grandson Chiang Kuo-hsi."

Inside the tablet: "Born at the szu hour /9-11 A.M./ on a lucky day of a lucky moon, in the Kuei-wei year of Tao Kwang.

Inside the tablet: "Died at the szu hour on the fourth day of the fourth moon, in the jen-ch'en year of Kwang Hsu."

Besides the Chiang family, the other thirty-six Lolo families employ three paper banners to represent three generations of their ancestors: 769

The spirit tablets of ancestors for three generations:



769 The spirit seat of each ancestor is represented by a bamboo stick wrapped in cotton with a red feather or in colored paper. So the spirit seats for the three generations of ancestors are represented by six bamboo sticks, from left to right, ranged in different heights according to seniority. These are pasted against the wall (see preceding diagram), and are called in the Lolo language "no p'a a m" or abbreviated as "a m", meaning ancestor.

The spirit tablet consists of a quantity of ashes of the deceased after cremation, extracted by the wizard priest and wrapped into a bamboo stick. It is thought that after the magic ceremony the spirit of the deceased will enter into this stick.

769 177 Ordinarily, the spirit tablets of the ancestors are hung on the left side of the center wall in the hall. In some families they are hung on the dark, smoky chimney wall above the native stove. I have discovered that the Lolo at first placed their ancestor tablets in the darkest corner of the kitchen, but as the relation between the Lolo and the Chinese became more intimate, they began to learn more from the Chinese and removed their ancestral tablets to the hall.

764 The official Yunnan annal quotes a passage from the Hsuan-wei Chou /county/, Gazetteer, stating:

> The dead is covered with a felt skirt, enveloped with silk and satin. No coffin is used. .....On the third, fifth or the seventh day the body is cremated in the mountain with bamboo leaves and the roots of grass. A Pi-mo is hired to wrap /the ashes/ in a piece of silk tied with colored threads. The whole is then inserted in a bamboo tube, laid in a bamboo basket, and

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

186 582 177 I asked my companion and guide, Mr Long, whether these women and girls would not prefer to live in Chinese territory, where there are more people and markets and towns, and supplies of clothing are more easily procured. He laughed, and said the women preferred the free life of the hills away from the Chinese, and would not change their lot if they could possibly help it. The pure Nosu woman would never think of marrying a Chinese. There are some cases of slave girls marrying Chinese, and the masters at times encourage this, because the Chinese then tends to become a slave also, at the disposal of the girl's master. Mr Long had a slave girl, a white Nosu, who was given to a Chinese tailor who came to the house seeking work. When the affair was finally settled the tailor agreed to give sixty days of free tailoring each year to Mr Long's second wife in return for the privilege of marrying the girl. When the tailor could save up enough money he was going to purchase and so free his wife. He had offered sixteen ounces of silver but the girl's mistress had stuck out for twenty ounces, and when I was there no bargain had yet been completed. I heard later on that the girl repented that she had agreed to be married to the Chinese tailor but she had been unable to get out of the engagement. Though there are a few cases such as this, the Nosu as a rule intermarry with Nosu.

000 Chatting away, and learning all I could about the land and the people, we began to near the end of the day's journey. Some of the latter part of the road was very bad. There was one lot of rocks we had to climb around, where they say even monkeys have to be shod with iron shoes before they can climb over it. We managed to negotiate the monkey-puzzling cliffs without mishap, and soon after came to a great pine-

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

for a short time on her heavy burden-bearing journey. The official instanced this as showing what a strong race the Yunnan people are. He does not know the awful price that poor woman would have to pay in later years for her terrible experience.

Before we reached the water's edge we began to shout across to the other side, giving the captain of the ferry warning that our party would soon be wanting to be taken across to the Yunnan shores. We hoped that he would hear our shouts and be on the Nosu side to meet us as soon as we had finished our long climb down. Most Chinese ferrymen, expecting a good tip, would have done this readily. But as we neared the Yangtse waters we saw no signs of any response to our shouts. The boat was still tied up securely to the Yunnan bank, and there was no move whatever on the part of the ferry captain. This procedure considerably disconcerted us. At first we did not see through the plot, and were merely annoyed at the delay. Our escort wished to see us safely over the river and then were going to return up that hill past the danger zone that same night. We were anxious not to delay them unduly. It was very kind of them to come so far with us and we did not wish to trespass on their kindness any more.

The first hour passed fairly pleasantly, thinking that every ten minutes we should see the captain hurrying along from the market town. After the first hour was over, and still there was no sign of the boatman, our men lost their temper and began roundly cursing all the ten thousand generations that had led up to the birth of the captain who refused to appear. I have usually found that the aboriginals, when they start swearing, do so in Chinese. Their own words have entirely failed by the side of the Chinese epithets, which express with a

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

177 192 195 000

refined force or blunt coarseness the most terrible or horrible curses a person in his wildest passion would wish to give utterance to. A knowledge of the swear words of the Chinese gives one an open window into their real thoughts and wishes. It is often said in extenuation that the Chinese use these terrible, filthy oaths without thought or understanding of their import. Such is not the case, for when two men or women really warm up to the fray it is like a closely fought game of chess when each antagonist meets the move of the other with a careful counter move of his own. They understand all too well what they say, and thrust and parry with the skill of practised gladiators.

We were kept waiting four hours at the ferry, unable to cross over the hundred yards that separated us from the safety of China proper.

Near by where we were waiting was a shingle beach, at the junction of a small stream with the Yangtse. Several of us went down to this beach, and, to while the time away, began throwing stones. This led on to talk about the stories that had gone abroad concerning the foreigner's prowess in stone-catching. Several of the party tried me again. Once more most of the stones proved quite easy of catch, for the men were too polite to pelt me in dead earnest. While we were enjoying the fun and killing the tedium of waiting for the immovable ferry, the men in the cave were watching, and from what they saw they came to the conclusion that the uncanny foreigner, whom rumour said a hundred men could not hit, had better be left alone. The simple fun of stone-throwing and stone-catching set alight the fires of the raiders' superstitions, and the signal was given that we were too strong to be attacked. True it is that fears as well as

175 of the southwestern I, with whom Ssue-ma Hsiang-ju /Chinese writer of the second century B. C./ communicated in the Han period. It is probable that the Miao tribes of Hunan and Kweichow provinces originally lived in fertile plains and valleys but were later forced by the Chinese to retreat into the mountains. The Lolo of Liang-shan, however, have always occupied the entire Liang-shan region. They preferred to live on high mountains even though their cultivated fields are centered around mountain streams.

181 512 The Lolo are a peaceful and contented agricultural people. They are singularly frugal and grave in temperament; they neither laugh nor talk easily. This is especially true of the I of Liang-shan. They work in the rice fields throughout the day, return home at nightfall, and go to sleep immediately after the evening meal. There is hardly any singing or dancing. They form a strong contrast to the nomadic, unrestrained, and pleasure-loving Tibetans.

177 The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan have been very much sinified so that their original customs and habits have almost entirely disappeared. Only those living in the northern border close to Huei-li /a hsien in Sikang/ and in a section further south, as well as those in the district of Lu-nan hsien, keep some of their former manners. Most of their original traits, however, are still retained among the I people in the Ning districts, in Lei /Lei-po/, Ma /Ma-pien/, Ô /O-pien/, P'ing P'ing-shan/ of Szechwan province, and especially in the Liang-shan 565 gion. The Lolo of these regions are divided into two distinct social classes: the "Heh-I" and the "Wa-tzu." But this distinction is not found among all the Lolo tribes in Yünnan, and it is hard to say whether it once prevailed in all other places. Since most primitive societies still retain this type of social system, we assume--but do not venture to assert categorically--that it was originally practiced in all Lolo societies but was later abandoned by some groups that came under Chinese influence. It is also possible that this system had always existed in some regions and not at all in others.

For a thorough study of the Lolo problem, "Heh-I" and "Wa-tzu" are two technical terms which must be understood. The former designates the nobility among the Lolo (called Sepo in the Lolo language). The word "Heh" /black/ has no special significance. (The complexion of the Heh-I is in fact somewhat darker than that of the Chinese, but the so-called "Wa-tzu" or "Pê-I" /Pê means white/ are not really fairer than the Heh-I.) "Wa-tzu" (meaning children)--probably a word borrowed from the Chinese--is used to designate the slaves, who are

also referred to as "Pê-I" by the Chinese. "Heh ku-t'o" /black bones/ and "Pê ku-t'o" /white bones/ are terms which are bestowed upon the Lolo by the Chinese and are never used among the I themselves. A misunderstanding is prevalent among some Chinese groups who think that the Pê-I or Wa-tzu are all Chinese captives or descendants of these captives. Still others make a further distinction, claiming that a newly captured Chinese is called Wa-tzu but is then raised to the status of Pê-I after his marriage with a female Chinese captive in the I region. It is actually quite unnecessary to make all these distinctions, for in appearance the Heh-I are tall and handsome with chests much broader than those of the Chinese, while the Wa-tzu are also strong and healthy but much smaller, indicating that besides the Chinese captives or their descendants, the majority of the Wa-tzu class includes perhaps another tribe which was conquered by the Heh-I in ancient times. The relationship between the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is somewhat similar to that between landlord and serf in tsarist times when hereditary class status could not be changed, and slaves could be bought and sold as chattels by the nobility. The Wa-tzu class /96/ resembles particularly the class of "mean people" or "untouchables" in India today. They differ from the nobility in racial characteristics as well as in social status.

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A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE LOLO OF THE LIANG-SHAN REGION

In many of the southwestern areas where the Lolo tribes have lived with the Chinese, they have lost their original traits and have become sinified in respect to customs and habits. This assimilation--found in most of Yünnan province, which has the greatest concentration of the Lolo--is not at all strange since the culture of the Chinese has always been much higher. For a study of the customs and civilization of the Lolo, it is best to go to the Ning districts and Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. Of these, Liang-shan, which has always been closed to outside influences, is the ideal region for research. Of course with the passing of thousands of years the Lolo here have also been somewhat influenced by the Chinese, but this influence is slight compared with that in other places. From the ethnographic point of view, one may say that there is not a single pure race in China. Even the Miao and Yao tribes living in the secluded mountain areas of various southwestern provinces are considerably mixed. The only relatively pure race is to be found in

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177 Liang-shan. For this reason it is necessary for us to make a field study there. Such a study would be of particular interest to ethnographers, linguists and sociologists.

186 In Liang-shan one often finds mixtures of the original Wa-tzu (one type of I) and Chinese captives who have been forced to become Wa-tzu and thereafter have no way of escape. The distinct separation of the Wa-tzu and the Heh-I, who try very hard to maintain their purity, is handed down throughout the ages and cannot be overcome. [582] [834] There is no intermarriage between the Heh-I and the Wa-tzu. Should a Heh-I man rape a woman of the Wa-tzu class, it is considered an intolerable disgrace to the race. It is an even greater crime for a woman of the Heh-I class to have sexual intercourse with a male Wa-tzu, and the punishment for both guilty parties would be death. Such practices remind one of Germany under Hitler's rule. The reasons for the Heh-I's attempt to preserve /97/ racial purity and their practices in this respect are exactly the same as those of the Nazis. The boastful Heh-I likewise consider themselves the most accomplished race as well as the warrior class, and look upon the Chinese and other racial groups with contempt. 565 In Liang-shan society the relationship of the Heh-I and Wa-tzu is based on co-operation and the division of labor into three /sic/ categories the upper class Heh-I do not concern themselves with production but engage only in warfare and governing, thus forming a sort of warrior or ruling class; the Wa-tzu are the producers or agricultural labor class. This is almost exactly the same as Nazi Germany's national philosophy (stressing "Deutschland über alles" and intent on reducing the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, etc., to the status of laborers controlled by the Germans). It is possible to see from this that the prevalent Nazi theories are about to lead the world back to the Lolo stage.

177 131 [18] The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan province and those in the Ning districts of Yueh-sui, Mien-ning, Yen-yüan, Yen-pien, etc. have been very much sinified, and are known as "Shou-I." /sinified Lolo/. The fiercest and most overbearing of the I are concentrated in the Liang-shan region, in which Chao-chüeh and Lei-po have the most ruthless and complex branches, and Ma-pien and Ô-pien, by comparison, the gentlest and simplest. All the I areas in Lei-po hsien are part of the Hsiao Liang-shan region and are inhabited mostly by the Wa-tzu attached to the Heh-I of Ta Liang-shan. These Wa-tzu, although disposed to plunder, are not so fierce and haughty as their masters. The main region occupied by the so-called Sheng-I or Yen-I (those who have been very little sinified as compared with the Shou-I)

is in Chao-chüeh hsien west of Huang-mao-keng, and east of the Mei-ku River. 177 131

In the past, because of the isolation of the various tribes along the Chinese frontier, the Government did not exercise real and complete control over them. These tribes were able to establish their own 624 rules and select their own leaders. After having conquered them, however, the Chinese have tried to win over these frontier people by appointing their leaders to the official posts of t'u-ssu /tribal chief/, t'u-ch'ien-hu /tribal head of 1,000 families/, etc., and to gain their ends through this indirect control. This is also the situation found in some of the Lolo regions, as well as in the Lolo district of Yuen-sui hsien, where likewise those who have been given the title of t'u-ssu do not have the actual functions of the office. But it is not true of Liang- 621 shan where organization is very lax and the people are divided into several independent branches called chia /families/. According to a study made by Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing, the most important branch in Lei-po hsien is the En-cha chia, also called the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--the combined name for Kan chia and P'u-t'ien chia--which is further divided into 11 branches: K'ung-p'u, Tou-o, Shih-kang, Li-pieh, Keng-erh, Shui-lu, Li-mien, A-chih, /98/ Wu-p'ao (also named Wu-p'o), Nuan-o, etc., thus constituting altogether 12 branches in the Kan P'u-t'ien chia. There are two more chia, the A-cho and A-lo (also named A-lu), which are very ruthless. These branches have always been the chief troublemakers in Lei-po hsien, where the I troubles were consequently the worst of the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. A-hou, Su-ko, and A-lo constitute the three chief branches in Chao-chüeh and have such substantial power that they once threatened to seize the entire hsien. The I of Ma-pien have always been divided into three groups: the center and left groups, consisting entirely of the members of the Wu-p'o chia, very seldom revolt; the right group alone, with branches called Hou-p'u and Shui-p'u--both belonging to the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--causes more damage. The Lolo of O-pien are said to consist of 13 branches, but they belong in reality to the same clan as the Kan chia. Formerly a member of the Kan chia named "Chao-tzu" had four sons, from whom sprang the 13 branches that live along the border of Ô-pien hsien. They are generally docile and not prosperous, and cause very little damage. I troubles in O-pien have therefore never been as violent as those in Lei-po and Chao-chüeh.

All the chia mentioned above are Heh-I branches, and the names are transliterations of I words. The Wa-tzu belong to their

all the strategic places around Liang-shan, military guard-posts where soldiers were stationed in order to prevent the I from slipping out. 175
Most of these places still retain the names they had as camps, and from this we can judge the strict defense measures taken at the time. In the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing in Szechwan province there were altogether 138 of these posts, distributed in more than 57 places, and the soldiers numbered something in excess of 10,000. The annual expenditure for I affairs exceeded 300,000 taels of silver and was about half the land revenue of Szechwan province towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. The importance of this problem may thus be deduced. In spite of these strict defenses the I continued to make trouble, and though no large campaigns were undertaken, clashes on a small-scale were quite frequent in the Ch'ing times. There were quite a few local military officers who gained rewards for military successes and who won the affection and support of the Chinese people. One of these heroes is Liu T'ing-chen, whose shrine stands today on the Lu Mountain in the vicinity of Hsi-ch'ang. The local officials also took advantage of the distance which separated this region from the court. Purposely stirring up troubles, they attacked the I on the slightest pretext, and then made false reports magnifying the smallest success to procure honors and promotion for themselves. Through the years there have been many who have prospered in this manner. Mu-kou-p'o, the one-time boundary division between the Lolo and Chinese in Lei-po hsien, appeared frequently in memorials to the Emperor; it helped not a few officials in Ch'engtu to wear red buttons on their caps /to get promotion/ even though they actually had no idea of its location. /120/ These conditions were of course demoralizing. Chinese influence, however, 175
has been gradually penetrating into Liang-shan: in the west it has ex- 177
tended from Hsi-ch'ang to Chu-heh and in the east from Lei-po to San-leng-kang in Heh-chiao. Some assert that it has already reached Huang-mo-keng. Meanwhile the I can only retreat into the surrounding mountains. In the first year of Hsüan-t'ung's reign, Chao Erh-sun attacked Liang-shan and tried to control the I by establishing at the site of the former garrison posts the walled city of Chao-chüeh hsien. Thus the court's authority was somewhat restored.

In addition to these defense measures and sporadic attacks, the 175
Ch'ing court also attempted to subdue the Liang-shan Lolo through en- 624
ticement or some form of appeasement. It included the appointment of the I as officials, guards of hills and roads, and attendants. (20)

20. Detailed information concerning the application of these

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

or cheese. This, we think, is a great pity as there is plenty of unoccupied land, such as it is, which they can use as pasturage for their cattle. The children drive the cattle and sheep out to pasture on the hill-sides early in the morning, and stay to mind them till the time for the morning meal, when they drive them home again. During the middle of the day the cattle are penned up in the hovel, and let out to pasture during the afternoon, and driven home again as it is getting dark. There is plenty of fuel about, and the tenants can go to the wood and bring home as much as they like. Moreover, there are no game laws.

There are wild beasts about, wolves, foxes, leopards, wild boars, and even tigers; and people, especially children, are not infrequently devoured by them. Some of the Miao are great hunters. They use spears, crossbows, and poisoned arrows. I think the poison they use is aconite. When they wound a leopard or tiger with their poisoned arrows, they allow the animal to get away, and later go after it. They generally find it dead or dying.

We have already mentioned Miao superstitions and legends, and here we shall only relate what we know of No-su religious beliefs and legends. These are the more difficult to learn

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

177 because so many of their ancient customs have fallen into disuse during their intercourse with the Chinese. Most of the lairds have Chinese [875] teachers for their children, and many of them read Chinese. Some of them compete at the Chinese civil examinations, and a certain number of degrees are allotted to the No-su. All of them can speak Chinese.

788 After the ingathering of buckwheat, when the 776 crop is stacked on the threshing floor and the work of threshing is about to begin, the simple formula "Thank you, *Je-so-mo*" is pronounced. *Je-so-mo* seems to be a spirit who controls the crops; whether good or evil is not easy to determine. *Mo* is a generic term for "sage" or 776 "spirit." *Je-so* is so like the name *Je-su*, which the Chinese and Miao use for Jesus, that some of the No-su wished to use *Je-so* for the name of our Saviour; but to this the missionaries very wisely did not consent, as they did not know who, or what sort of a person, *Je-so-mo* was. *Je-so-mo* is not God, for when the No-su wish to speak of God they use the word *Se*, which means "Master" or "Lord." In the independent No-su territory, north of the Yangtze River in Szechwan, the term used for God is *Eh-nia*, and one No-su, who has had much intercourse with the independent No-su, asserts that

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

796 782 begins intoning his incantations in a low muttering voice. The victims are then slain, the blood poured beneath the altar, and a handful of rice and a lump of salt are placed beneath the stone. Some person then gathers a handful of green grass, and the exorcist having finished intoning, the altar is covered and all return to the house. The exorcist twists the grass into a rope which he hangs over the doorway of the house. Then out of a piece of willow a small arrow is made, a bow of corresponding size is cut out of a peach tree, and these are placed on the door-posts. Out of a piece of soft white wood the figure of a man is carved, and this, with two sticks placed crosswise, is fastened to the rope hanging over the doorway, with two other sticks one on each side. The exorcist proceeds with his incantations, muttering, "From now henceforth and for ever will the evil spirits keep away from this house."

796 • 177 Most of the No-su at the present time observe the New Year festival, at the same time and with the same ceremonies as the Chinese. Formerly this was not so, and even now in the remoter districts some of them observe New Year's Day as the first day of the tenth moon of the Chinese year. A pig and sheep are killed, cleaned, and hung up in the house for three days. On the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

first day of the New Year they are taken down, cut up, and cooked. The family sit on buckwheat straw in the middle of the chief room of the house. The head of the house invites the others to drink whisky, and the feasting begins. Presently one will start singing, and all join in the song:

"How firm is this house of mine! throughout the year the hearth fire has not ceased to burn. My food corn is abundant; I have silver and also cash. My cattle have increased to herds, my horses and mules have all white foreheads, *K'o k'o ha ha ha ha k'o k'o.* My sons are filial, my wife is virtuous. In the midst of flesh and whisky we sleep. Our happiness reaches unto heaven. Truly glorious is this glad New Year."

Some of the No-su, but not all of them, have a legend of the Creation, but all of them have a legend of the Flood. They manifestly trace their genealogy from Noah. They say a certain man had three sons. He received warning that a flood was to come upon the earth, and the family discussed how they should save themselves when this calamity came upon them. One suggested an iron cupboard, another a stone one, but the suggestion of the third that they should make a cupboard of wood and store it with food was acted upon. Thus the

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
Lolo NE4

mao Ridge) and their power shrinks back to the Ta Liang Shan. When Han-Chinese power weakens here, the Lolo tribesmen go on a rampage and disturb the Hsiao Liang Shan region, so that there is hardly a day of peace and security in Lei-po, Ma-pien, Ping-shan, and Ngo-pien Districts ...

Actually, the Lolo habitat is not restricted by the Great and Lesser Liang Shan. Large numbers are found in Kuei-chou. In Hsi-k'ang, apart from the number in the Liang Shan there reportedly are some 600,000 Lolo in ten districts in the east. Within Yun-nan south of the Chin-sha Chiang also are a number of Lolo districts. The high altitude basins of Yun-nan are 80-90 per cent Han-Chinese in population. But the high mountain valleys and plateau lands are inhabited almost entirely by mountain tribes people including Lolo. South of a line between K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pa-yi or T'ai tribes are the predominant group of tribes people, living mostly in the low-lying plains and basins. North of this line, the tribesmen are Lolo and related groups such as the Mo-hsieh (Mo-so) and the Li-hsieh (Li-su). The Lolos also have spread south of this line, and there are even small numbers in Vietnam and Burma. Lin Yueh-hua estimated that the Lolo and Lolo-related tribes people in Yun-nan numbered not less than 1,000,000. The Yun-nan Lolo differ from those of Ssu-ch'uan and Hsi-k'ang in that they have become highly Sinicized and have intermarried with Han-Chinese and other peoples, so that in features as well as culture there have been changes. Many of the Yun-nan Lolos consider themselves Han-Chinese and do not like to be regarded as Lolo. The northern Lolo, however, find their backbone in the so-called Black-bones who are a race of aristocrats scorning the Han-Chinese and maintaining a strict racial separation. The Chinese Communist Ya-kuang Atlas for 1952 gives a figure of 3,000,000 for the total number of Yi or Lolo in the southwestern provinces.

The Liang Mountains branch off from the Kung-ho Shan and divide into four great branches. The first and northernmost is between Ma-pien and Ngo-pien. In the Lolo area it is known as the Wan-shih-p'ing Mountain Range. It is the water-divide between the Ta-tu Ho and the Ma-pien Ho. The second branch is the main range of the Ta-liang Shan. It runs from Huang-mao-kang in the north and extends through Huang-ts'ao-p'ing, Yen-feng-Shan and Ta-feng-ting to reach Nan-huang-ts'ao-kang,

[173 cont.]

131 less scattered about among the "Man" and "Méo" villages. Every-
361 where else, in the regions of Dongvan, Yen-Minh, Hoang-su-phi, Muongkhuong, Coc-leu, Baoha, Trinh-Tuong, Phongtho, the "Lolo" form merely dispersed hamlets, each consisting of only a small number of cabins.

All the "Lolo" assert that their settlement in Tonkin goes back
173 to a very remote period, which certain of them indicate as about the beginning of the Christian era, a time when the "Lolo" formed a powerful state in eastern Yunnan, whose southern boundaries very closely approximated our present Tonkin frontier. As we have indicated in Chapter I, we have very often found in Tonkin "Lolo" in contact with the "Thai," who have not ceased dominating them and holding them in a completely subordinate position. Be that as it may, these tribes appear very long ago to have cut the ties that
[101] bound them to the large groupings from which they originated, and
[177] little by little they are losing their special characteristics, while adopting the mores and beliefs of the other groups among whom they live, "Thai," "Man," or "Méo."

128 [174] We shall study more particularly in this chapter the following tribes:

The "Lolo," properly speaking.
The "Fou-la."
The "Xa-pho."
The "Ho-nhi."

101 We have already seen in Chapter II that certain tribes designated by the name of "Lolo" ("Pen-ti-lolo," "Pou-piao-lolo") had better be classed in the "Thai" group which has absorbed them and with which their dialects and their costumes connect them.

[175] The "Lolo"

101 This important tribe, by far the most numerous of the group,
131 is settled exclusively in the mountains of the region of Baolac, in direct contact with the "Méo."

[175 cont.]

142 582 [177] marry only with persons of the same tribe. A fact, however, which does not prevent them, as we have indicated above, from adopting the customs and even the costumes of the other groups, but without going as far as a "misalliance."

181 While the "Lolo" of China have retained the character of warriors and plunderers, the "Lolo" of Tonkin are of a peaceful and rather indolent disposition, which frequently places them in a position of inferiority in relation to their more energetic and active neighbors.

273 276 [176] They often use alcohol, tobacco, and especially opium to excess.

197 The "Lolo" of Upper Tonkin use Burmo-Tibetan idioms, whose vocabularies vary noticeably from one tribe to another.

193 The elements of the sentence follow one another in the following order: subject, adjective, direct complement, verb, indirect complement, preposition.

Example: My good father sells (his) house to (a) man.
(of) me the father good house sells man to.

198 212 They use the "kouan-hoa" and sometimes the "Thai" as languages of commerce; they use Chinese characters for their writing.

They have no special form of writing and are not acquainted with the writing used by the "Lolo" of Yunnan.

153 Moreover, they are rather intelligent and capable of receiving a certain degree of culture.

291 [177] The men are progressively adopting the costume of the "Thai"; however, they preserve a suit of the distinctive tribal costume in which to be dressed after their death, so that their ancestors may be able to recognize them. The "Lolo" costume consists:

1. Of a short jacket, opened widely in front of the chest and not reaching below the belt.

2. Of a wide pantaloon, bearing at the lower part of the legs an embroidered band done with red-and-yellow thread and representing squares and triangles separated by broken lines.

3. Of a turban of very dark-blue material, whose extremities bear embroidery similar to that on the pantaloon.

[302] No part of the head is shaved. The hair is wound in a chignon behind the head and bound in the turban.

[180 cont,]

583 off his fiancée, but he must later pay a double dowry.

595 The "Lolo" generally have only a single wife.

684 Adultery is punished by death.

764 The dead "Lolo" is dressed in his finest clothes and then immediately afterwards placed on his bier. The coffin is kept for three days in the house in which the death took place. The burial is done the fourth day. Only the relatives take part in this ceremony. A fire is lighted on the grave as soon as the trench is [181] filled in. This fire is cared for by the relatives for nine days, if the deceased is a man, eight days for a woman, six days for a child. The grave then is abandoned and no one pays any further attention to it.

184 764 Some "Lolo" tribes follow slightly different customs. Among the "K'an-t'éou-lolo" ("Lolo" head-cutters), the corpses are dug up at the end of three years. The head is removed from the body and placed in a little wooden chest, which is placed in full view on a neighboring rock. (Photo 348, Plate 44, shows rocks which the inhabitants of the region call "rocks of the tombs," on which are still found heads of "K'an-t'éou-lolo" coming from a hamlet of this tribe which moved away thirty years before.) (Southwest of Pha-Long.)

Other tribes bury their dead without coffins and place upon the corpse a long, hollow, vertical piece of bamboo which sticks out on top of the mound. The relatives from time to time verify the state of decomposition of the corpse, by coming and smelling the emanations at the upper end of the bamboo. When there is no further odor, the corpse is dug up, and the bones are placed in a small chest, which is exposed as has been described above for the "K'an-t'éou."

771 ●177 The "Lolo" of Tonkin, properly speaking, have neither religion nor peculiar beliefs. They have adopted those of their nearest neighbors, either "Méo," "Man," or "Thai." They believe in the evil spirits but do not fear them to the same extent as do the "Thai."

769 778 They observe ancestral worship strictly enough. On the ancestral altar the dead are represented in the following manner: branches of orchids, cut to a length of seven knots for a man and

[182 cont.]

342 231 level, in such a way that the under part of the cabins can be used only for sheltering fowl, goats, and pigs. (The tall domestic animals must be kept outside the dwellings, in the stables of the model already described.)

342 [177] 2. Rectangular cabins of pisé built level with the ground and covered with a straw roof in two sections. This model is found especially in the "F'ou-la" hamlets in contact with the "Méo." They always have on one of the long sides of the house, a kind of rather large terrace, covered by a prolongation of the roof. The interior frequently has a corridor running the length of this same long side, upon which open the various rooms of the house. The interior partitions, as well as the material closing the space between the top of the walls and the upper angle of the roof, are of crushed bamboo. [356] The inside of the cabins is rather well cared for.

(Photo 335, Plate 44, shows a "F'ou-la" village of the region of [183] Muongkhuong, built in a "Méo" zone.) The structures have much similarity to "Méo" cabins, but the surroundings of the cabins are infinitely cleaner than in the hamlets of the latter group.

291 177 The costume and the headdress of the "F'ou-la" men much resemble those of the "Lolo" described above. The jacket is short and the bottom of the pantaloon is embroidered over a rather large width. But, in addition to the uniform of the tribe, the "F'ou-la" men wear indiscriminately the "Thai" or "Méo" costume or even the Chinese.

291 The feminine dress of the tribe includes the following articles:

1. A jacket of a rather short type, but still slightly longer than that of the "Lolo" women, leaving bare no part of the waist. This jacket usually is of very dark-blue material, almost black. It is buttoned in front of the neck and on the right side. It is edged on the front by a light-blue band more or less wide, followed by a white or light-blue piping. Some "F'ou-la" women wear jackets of very light blue, in this case the border and the piping are of red. (See the woman at the right in photo 514, Plate 44.) The jacket has a narrow collar (one or two centimeters) decorated with embroidery, the wide sleeves reaching down to the middle of the forearm and ending in two or three circular bands, white, red, or blue, reaching about up to the height of the elbow.

[185] The "Xa-pho"

101 The name of "Xa-pho" is used to designate rather important
131 "Lolo" tribes, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 individuals, which
161 are settled on the right bank of the Red River in the regions of Baoha and of Coc-Leu, mixed with "Thai" and with "Nhang.

These tribes call themselves the "Lao-pa."

The "Xa-pho" are rather closely related to the "F'ou-la," Even more timid than the latter, they have allowed themselves to be completely dominated by the "Thai," who often treat them as veritable slaves, available to perform forced labor or to pay taxes without mercy. Moreover, the "Xa-pho" accept this inferior position, which they appear to have no desire to alter.

The costumes of the women resemble those of the "F'ou-la," but the jacket is shorter and it is edged by a wide band on which are embroidered lozenges filled with multicolored designs.

The dialect has many analogies to the "F'ou-la" dialect. The language of commerce is the "Thai" and sometimes Annamese.

The mores and customs of the "Xa-pho" come closer and closer to those of the "Thai" and of the "Nhang" among whom they live. The cabins, which are very clean, are most frequently of the type built on piles. The hamlets are not far from the rice fields, but always located on the slopes of the hillsides.

No more than the other "Lolo," the "Xa-pho" have neither a religion nor beliefs which are well defined, beyond a vague worship rendered to their ancestors. They are very little interested in matters concerning souls and spirits.

They have very few legends. They appear to be totally ignorant of that of the deluge, which, nevertheless, is known, with numerous variations, by almost all of other tribes of Upper Tonkin. They have preserved one which explains in the following manner the required style of the "Lolo" jackets: The first human couple had four sons from whom are descended the four principal races of the region:

[101] The "Xa-pho" called "Lao-pa."
The "Thai" called "Gia-lo-pa."

[185 cont.]

773 The "Man" called "Yem-pa."
[101] The "Meo" called "Méo-pa."

[186] When the mother was making the first garment for her children, she commenced with the ancestors of the "Thai" and of the "Man," to whom she gave very good measure. Next, the piece of material being more than half used up, she cut shorter the garment for the ancestor of the "Méo." After this so little material remained that the ancestor of the "Xa-pho" could have only the little jacket still worn by the "Lolo."

[187] The "Ho-nhi"

101 This "Lolo" tribe is represented in Tonkin, between Phongtho
131 and Trinhthuong, only by a few hamlets containing a total of from
161 200 to 300 individuals. Important groupings of "Ho-nhi" are settled in southern Ynnnan; particularly in the region of Pou-eurl. They still are called by the names of "Ouo-ni" or "Wo-ni."

[167] They come from western Yunnan.

They have the general appearance of the "Méo," but they
142 have skin noticeably darker than the latter. They have very sturdy
147 constitutions, but are of a gentle and apprehensive disposition which
181 impels them to isolation.

They speak a "Lolo" dialect rather different from that of the
197 other tribes of the group. They use the "kouan-hoa" as their com-
198 mercial language. They have a very limited number of literate
212 persons.

The costume of the men resembles that of the "Méo" of the
291 region, but the blue color of the costume is a very dark shade.
[177] The women likewise wear clothing of a very dark-blue material, which includes the following:

1. A jacket reaching down to the knees. This jacket is slit on the left side from the bottom up to the belt. The front is lifted up and fastened to the belt on the right side.

2. A breast covering of triangular shape. The point of the triangle is at the top, held about the neck by a cord. The lower

culture, but less cunning in business matters and less energetic in the defense of their interests.

The Lolo smoke opium a great deal and this passion is highly prejudicial to their physical and intellectual development. Neither men nor women chew betel.

In their mode of living a truly characteristic custom should be noted, that the women are vegetarians after they have attained puberty. They may not eat the tiniest piece of the meat of pig, fowl, or dog and must not even prepare their food with grease. For this reason their cooking is done in special saucepans.

The dwelling is constructed either directly on the earth as among the Meo, or on piles as among the Tho. It is usually surrounded by fruit trees which give a picturesque appearance to the hamlets.

The Lolo, who in Tonkin are always somewhat overwhelmed in the midst of the Meo settlements, are easily influenced by their neighbors. They live in the same way, grow the same crops, and feed themselves in a similar fashion. The Meo, more greedy for gain and more energetic, are dispossessing them little by little from the better sections of ground, and there is every reason to believe that their conditions of existence will become more and more miserable.

Except the La Qua, all the Lolo varieties speak analogous dialects with characteristic syntax. They are the only ones who imitate the inversion of the Latin phrase by placing the object after the verb. All of these groups, detached for many long years from the large groups in Yunnan, have forgotten Lolo writing. Furthermore, they have not learned Chinese characters.

/There appear between pages 146 and 147 of the text the following two photographs: "Two White Lolo women"; "Two Black Lolo women."--translator/

/147/

Section 2

Costume Peculiar to Each Variety

Each variety of the ethnic group is distinguished by a special costume.

The first is that of the White Lolo, an expression which is translated as Peu Lolo in Chinese, Mia Khao in Tho, and Mung za

Lolo AE4
Kha AM7

weep at his feet, while men execute rhythmic dances in front of the door. They arrange themselves in Indian file, in order of age, and at the sound of the tom-tom they advance, retire, or revolve together.

Religious ideas of the Lolo inhabiting the frontier zone of Tonkin resemble those of the Meo in whose midst they live.

The mission of Captain d'Olonne, which has just traveled throughout the /151/ whole country of the independent Lolo, will undoubtedly report interesting information on the true customs of the Lolo ethnic group. They have already informed us that this people is endowed with sufficient energy to free themselves completely from Chinese domination. This fact alone causes us to believe that their Tonkin kinsmen have degenerated, that their isolation in the midst of other populations has weakened them.

Section 4

The Xa or Kha Ethnic Group

The Xa, who are called Kha in Laos, are the most miserable of all the mountaineers. Their costume is made of the same cloth as that of the Yao and consists of wide trousers for the men and a short jacket. Women wear embroidery on their garments, but they always are so dirty that the colors cannot be seen. Jewelry is of copper. Men wear neither hat nor turban. The hair simply is knotted in a filthy chignon.

The Xa has neither writing, nor intellectual culture of any sort. To communicate with one another they are satisfied with scratching a very limited number of conventional signs on small pieces of wood or bamboo. Some Xa tribes still speak their primitive tongue which is very crude, and has the peculiarity that the "r" is rolled with a vigor recalling Malayan or Cambodian pronounciation. The Teng, for example, pronounce the words which mean "horse" and "chicken" as if they had two r's: mbrran and irr. But most of the poor Xa families who are scattered in the Tonkin mountains are so de-nationalized that they have forgotten their own tongue and now speak Tai or Annamese.

The Xa dwell at the same altitude as the Yao and cultivate maize like them on steep mountain slopes. Their house is raised on piles the length of the escarpments, in such a way that the interior